THE

SPEECH

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES JAMES FOX,

IN THE

HOUSE of COMMONS,

On TUESDAY the 9th Inſtant,

IN

DEFENCE OF HIS RESIGNATION.

A NEW EDITION CORRECTED.

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THIS Speech, being chiefly directed to refute ſome particulars ſtated by the Right Honourable General Conway, in a debate on Tueſday, July 9, 1782, in the Houſe of Commons, the publiſher thinks it neceſſary to ſtate what theſe particulars were, and the reaſon of their being brought forward by the Right Honourable General Conway.

As the reſignation of the Right Honourable C. J. Fox was ſaid to have ariſen from the preſent Firſt Lord of the Treaſury poſſeſſing principles contrary to thoſe which had been declared by the late Secretary, in a former debate, General Conway thought it neceſſary to ſtate preciſely and particularly what he underſtood were abſolutely his principles of conduct.

For it was upon his opinion of their being agreeable to what he had always profeſſed, in union with the Honourable Gentleman, (Mr. Fox) that he thought himſelf bound to give them his ſupport. Should they, in the leaſt iota, deviate from theſe, he was going to read to the Houſe, they, then, ſhould meet with his entire oppoſition. But while he underſtood theſe were the principles of the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, he thought there muſt

muſt be ſome other reaſon for the Honourable Gentleman's reſignation than that of merely a deviation from principle. For ſuch deviation did not appear to him to exiſt.

General Conway then read ſome papers containing the following principles, as being thoſe of the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury.

1. That the independence of America ſhould be made the baſis of preliminaries for any future negociation for a peace.

2. That a rigid and regular ſyſtem of oeconomy ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all public expenditures.

3. That the freedom of the Iriſh Legiſlature, ſo completely acknowledged by the repeal of the 6th of George the Firſt, ſhould be fixed on a firm and permanent baſis.

4. That the miſconduct of Eaſt-India delinquents ſhould meet with a thorough inveſtigation.

5. That, although the prerogative of the Crown ſhould, in every particular, have ſupport and protection, yet, a reform ſhould be made in the Civil Eſtabliſhment adequate to deſtroy its influence.

THE

THE SPEECH

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

C. J. FOX.

SIR,

NEVER did I riſe under ſuch a preſſure of mind as at this moment. The peculiar ſituation in which I now ſtand, would certainly overwhelm me, were it not for two conſolations which I have to reſort to within myſelf. They are ſuch comforts as can only ſupport me under a ſituation, in

which I cannot but too ſenſibly feel its power. I will beg leave to ſtate what theſe comforts are: —the firſt is, that which I have lately done even meets the applauſe of thoſe, whoſe conduct is a tacit condemnation of what they cannot help but partially to approve. But what ſtill makes this comfort greater, is the knowledge that it has received the approbation of all thoſe, who are, from their integrity and ability, deſerving of my regard, attention, and eſteem. This is one of the greateſt comforts—and a very great one it is, which I now feel adequate to ſupport me in this trial of peculiar ſituation, which I believe no one ever yet experienced.

BUT there is, as I before obſerved, another comfort which would ſupport me, were I ſo unfortunate as to have been deprived of the other—I mean that ſelf-complacency which ariſes in every honeſt man's mind, from a conſciouſneſs of his having done right, agreeable to the dictates of his duty and principles. Theſe are my reſources of internal ſupport, from the adverſe and very diſagreeable dilemma in which I now find myſelf. Were I not poſſeſſed of theſe, how ſhould I bear the reflection of being ſeparated from thoſe, with whom I have had the honour and happineſs of acting, in the general cauſe of national welfare, from the

the earlieſt periods of my political career? I cannot but conſider myſelf peculiarly unfortunate, to find I muſt now differ in political conduct, as well as ſentiments, from thoſe Hon. Gentlemen, for whom I had imbibed ſuch prejudices, as nothing but the ſtrength of my principles for the public welfare could ever have obliterated. Although I expected to have differed with the Hon. Gentleman (General Conway) on this day, on political opinions, I did not ſuppoſe—as it has appeared, that we ſhould differ in point of facts. The Hon. Gentleman has ſtated to you, that it is, and has always been, the principles of the preſent council, to grant America her independance. Sir, had this been the fact, I moſt probably ſhould not have been in my preſent ſituation. That it is quite otherwiſe, I will appeal to the recollection, to the candour, to the known and juſtly acknowledged integrity of the Hon. Gentleman—whether ſuch were the ſentiments of the cabinet, in the day I gave intimation of reſignation. I think the Hon. Gentleman will do me the juſtice to ſay, it was not the intention of the cabinet to grant America her independance in that unconditional manner, in which I had, in a recent debate, held out to the Houſe, and to the people, that it ſhould be granted. But I will go further, Sir. The Hon. Gentleman, I am

 ſure,

ſure, muſt recollect, that on the day of a meſſage coming from the late much-lamented firſt Lord of the Treaſury, with the agreeable news of his being ſomewhat better—and, in conſequence, of there being a poſſibility of his recovery—I then declared to all his Majeſty's council, that if ſuch were their opinions reſpecting America, I neither could, nor would, act in concert with them. The Hon. Gentleman may perhaps rank this among his ſhade of differences. But let me tell him, that had I not conſidered it the ſubſtance of national deſtruction, I ſhould not have reſigned. I conſidered myſelf, perhaps, the moſt reſponſible for the meaſure they were adopting. And when I ſaw that what I had pledged myſelf ſhould be performed, was going to be done away, it was prudence, as well as juſtice to myſelf, to withdraw from an adminiſtration, in which I could no longer act agreeable to my opinions and principles of national preſervation. When I found there was no poſſibility of acting unanimouſly, I thought it wiſe—I thought it neceſſary—I thought it indiſpenſible, to reſign my ſhare, that my opinions might not diſtract thoſe councils, where unanimity muſt ſave the people. But the Hon. Gentleman will alſo recollect, that although I thought my reſignation was expedient and indiſpenſible, I

declared

declared that I ſhould not reſign until ſome change happened with reſpect to the much-lamented Marquis. I declared that I was afraid my reſignation might affect and deſtroy thoſe hopes which then exiſted of his recovory. So that the Hon. Gentleman cannot have the leaſt pretence for his inſinuation that my reſignation aroſe from a conteſt for penſion, place, or emolument. At leaſt, if we have been in purſuit of perſonal emolument, we have done it very aukwardly. Every one muſt acknowledge that we are, by no means, adepts in the ſcience of perſonal emolument. If we had, I think, we ſhould have taken care to have obliged ourſelves with thoſe penſions which we have granted to thoſe in office. Surely it will not be ſaid but penſions are more deſirable to thoſe who are out of office—than to thoſe who are in.

THE Hon. Gentleman has inſinuated, as if I were tied more by perſonal prejudices, than political principles. I know the magnanimity of the Hon. Gentleman—I know his diſintereſtedneſs—I know his political principles are ſufficient to deſtroy every prejudice that ties men together—not by perſonal attachment, but by being united in one labour—the common good. To this magnanimity—to this diſintereſt-

diſintereſtedneſs, I muſt confeſs myſelf incompetent. I have my friendſhips and my prejudices; and when they are cemented by thoſe principles which can only be ties with honeſt and worthy men—ſuch as promoting and preſerving the rights and liberties of the people, I cannot, with the Hon. Gentleman, boaſt of that liberality, which can, in a moment, deſtroy what has been maturing for years.

WERE I to recur to paſt adminiſtrations, I ſhould trace this political liberality of the Hon. Gentleman as the efficient cauſe of all thoſe diſtreſſes which he has, with ſuch ſincerity, joined me in execrating. I am too thoroughly acquainted with that Gentleman's heart, not to know and acknowledge, that, although he was the cauſe of theſe calamities, yet it was from the pureſt intention. He poſſeſſes a degree of confidence which borders ſo much on innocence, that I am ſure he will eſpouſe the worſt men and meaſures, from the pureſt of motives. He does not penetrate into the arcana of character or conſequence. Superficial action determines his principles. If they are apparently good—though latently evil, he gives them his unremitted ſupport. But if they are apparently evil—though latently good, they meet with

with either his oppoſition or neglect. It is thus the Hon. Gentleman receded from an adminiſtration, and, by this means, gave an opportunity for that adminiſtration to follow, which has brought this country to the preſent ſtate of, I fear, abſolute ruin. He very laudably moved for the repeal of the ſtamp act, and his labours were happily crowned with ſucceſs. He then went out with that miniſter who had been the origin of that act which he had ſo ſucceſsfully oppoſed. It was, thus, the Hon. Gentleman afterwards gave an opportunity for that adminiſtration to come in, which his motion has lately been the cauſe of its removal. Now the Hon. Gentleman thinks it political liberality to adhere to thoſe with whom he has neither been in habits of friendſhip, opinion, or principle—by reaſon they ſeem to him to be acting agreeable to his opinions. So far the Hon. Gentleman is to be commended. But he will pardon me in ſaying, that to this unſyſtematic conduct is to be attributed all the evils which have, long ſince, diſtreſſed the country. Were I aſked, Who has been the cauſe of all the treaſure—all the lives—all the glories, of which this country has been deſpoiled, I know not whom I ſhould fix upon before the Hon. Gentleman.

I TRUST

I TRUST he will pardon this accuſation; for he is too well aſſured of my knowledge of his heart—to ſuppoſe that I annex this idea with criminality. All I lament is, that a man of his great abilities—of his great integrity—of his great character—ſhould be liable to ſuch pernicious credulity and inconſiſtency. I cannot but ſympathize with him for what I am too well aſſured will happen. I know—and it is with the greateſt confidence I ſay it—that he will, ere long, find his adherence repaid with diſappointment. He will, then, ſeek thoſe, whom he now thinks not right to accompany into that retreat, where his beſt friends have ſeen it prudent to withdraw themſelves. He ſhall, then, be received with every cordiality that is due to his character and principles. He muſt not, therefore, blame us—if, foreſeeing danger, we have gone before to prepare for ourſelves, our friends—among whom I rank him one of the firſt; I repeat—if we are gone before—preparing a ſtrong fortreſs, in which we may all retire with ſafety from the ſtorm of diſtreſs, which is, too evidently, gathering around us. Whenever he comes he ſhall be received. It is, there, he ſhall always find an aſylum.

AND

AND now I will make ſome obſervations to what the Hon. Gentleman has obſerved with reſpect to my reſignation having ariſen from a luſt of power.

ALTHOUGH I confeſs myſelf to be under the influence of vanity, yet I think my conduct, in the preſent, will plainly demonſtrate that I have ſacrificed that vanity of poſſeſſing power, to the principles of national intereſt. That I am vain, I confeſs. That I am alſo ambitious, I confeſs. Is it any wonder that I ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſome little ſhare of ſelf-complacency, when I find ſuch characters, as thoſe of the Hon. Gentleman's deſcription, acknowledging that my retreat from adminiſtration is breaking up their councils? Can ſuch an inſignificant individual as myſelf hear this, and not be tinctured with ſome little degree of vanity? But, indeed, I have other more weighty and cogent conſiderations to raiſe my vanity. When I conſider myſelf to have held a place of the firſt reſponſibility in the ſtate—and that at an age in which few have begun their public conduct, I cannot but have ſome few ideas which may flatter my conſequence in my own eſteem. I, therefore, confeſs myſelf ſuſceptible of vanity, and in ſome

degree of ambition. To ſay I would not prefer affluence to penury—honour to indignity—and authority to inſignificance, would be abſurdity in the extreme. For it would be betraying my greateſt pride, in the feelings of the preſent moment. Were I inſenſible to theſe advantages, I ſhould not think I deſerved the attention with which this Houſe has ſo reſpectably and numerouſly convened itſelf, for the purpoſe of hearing my ſentiments and reaſons for receding from the councils of His Majeſty. Were I not ſenſible of the advantages I have ſacrificed, I ſhould think myſelf ill-deſerving of this diſtinction. But were I not proud of theſe advantages which I have forgone, I muſt always have found them convenient. The emoluments ariſing from the office I lately held, every perſon muſt know were not to be rejected—but on the moſt preſſing urgency. The advantages were, indeed, convenient to me—not to ſay any more on that ſubject. But when I found that I could no longer be affluent, powerful, and diſtinguiſhed, except I ſacrificed all that could make theſe deſirable—my perſonal character, and my country's intereſt, I was neither vain nor ambitious enough to retain them. Here then, I think, is a demonſtration of my not having reſigned through a luſt of

power.

power. Would, or could, the Hon. Gentleman think, that I do not feel a pang—putting myſelf out of the queſtion, for the loſs of that ability which I poſſeſſed of rewarding my numerous friends. Does he ſuppoſe that I could quit ſuch a power without regret? Does he conſider how I muſt view the many inconveniences which muſt have ariſen to thoſe who had ſacrificed their intereſt for a dependance on my principles and late official authority? The Hon. Gentleman, I think, will, in his own mind, do me the juſtice to acknowledge, I am not callous to ſuch a ſtate of mortification. But I truſt he will, at the ſame time, conſider, that a ſacrifice of theſe feelings can never have their ſource in an unjuſt or unwarrantable luſt for power. I am deſirous of power—but it is to ſerve my country. When that power ceaſed, I reſigned.

But with regard to my having reſigned being the cauſe of the old Miniſtry coming again into place, I am ſurprized how ſuch an incongruous idea could have ſuggeſted itſelf to the mind of the Hon. Gentleman. Would this Houſe ſuffer it—Would the nation ſuffer it? Would any people ſuffer that Miniſtry again to act, which they have diſmiſſed by a vote of

their repreſentatives? Is there any man who can produce one ſupport for ſuch an abſurdity? It is affronting the ſpirit and wiſdom of the legiſlature, even to hint a poſſibility of its execution.

And now let me obſerve what relates to thoſe papers which the Hon. Gentleman has now read. If this be his political creed, he muſt pardon me in ſaying that it is newly adopted; for it has been framed ſince I reſigned my office. I never heard, or ſaw, any of the papers themſelves, or the leaſt part of the principles they contain. However, I am happy to find that I can act more powerfully than when I was at the pinnacle of power. I am content —if my abſence has affected what all my endeavours, when preſent, could not produce. The Hon. Gentleman has produced this as the unalterable principles of the Earl of Shelburne. However he may aver they are the preſent principles of the noble Earl, I muſt appeal to his candour—his integrity—his character, as a man of honour, whether theſe were the principles of his lordſhip while I remained in office? If they were not, it is plain that here I can ſerve my country more effectually, than in my former ſituation of power, diſtinction, and emolument.

But what has the Hon. Gentleman held out in this political creed, that ſhould authorize me, or any one, to place a confidence in the actions of the preſent firſt Lord of the Treaſury? Do they contain any thing of a voluntary adoption? Is not the granting America her independance but a neceſſary compliance with the voice of the people, through their repreſentatives in this aſſembly? Would the Hon. Gentleman have the temerity to advance, that adminiſtration dared to do otherwiſe? I ſay, would they dare to act contrary to the deſires, opinions, remonſtrances, and principles of this Houſe? Would His Majeſty—ſuppoſing what I have too great an opinion of His Majeſty to ſuppoſe——think it either ſafe or expedient to continue a miniſter, in oppoſition to thoſe ſentiments which had been lain by the people at the foot of his throne? I have not that deſpicable opinion of His Majeſty's ſenſe, as to imagine he would thus countenance either men or meaſures, that were directly ſubverſive of what, he muſt be convinced, can only ſave his ſtate and himſelf from impending deſtruction. Let us not, then, be treated like babies. Let us not be lured by ſuch baubles from our poſitive duty to ourſelves and our country. For my part, I ſhall only conſider the adoption of this meaſure from

from neceſſity—not from principle. It is therefore, when I find the firſt characters in adminiſtration are to be compelled to adopt the right, I ſee it neceſſary to recede from their connection. I will act with none but thoſe who act from principle. It is with ſuch only I can act with ſafety to myſelf, and ſervice to my country. I will not follow the conduct of the Hon. Gentleman. It is not actions—but principles, that muſt connect me with any ſet of men whatever. The Hon. Gentleman very candidly confeſſes that he does not know the members who compoſe the adminiſtration which he ſo ſtrenuouſly eſpouſes. I believe the Hon. Gentleman. It is quite in uniſon with the uſual tenor of his character. But here is the difference between me and the Hon. Gentleman. He is content to look at their actions. I am never content to look at any perſon's actions, until I have developed their characters. No actions ſhall ever tempt me to join any perſon or perſons, until I am intimately acquainted with their characters. This has been my conduct—and from this knowledge have I thought it prudent to reſign. I found myſelf placed as a watchman at the tower of government, to alarm the people of every danger that might threaten them.—I found the moſt imminent danger approaching, and, therefore, have I hung out the flag of

diſtreſs.

diſtreſs. I have rung the alarm bell, to warn the people. Thus would I adviſe that perſon, whoever he might be, who ſucceeds to that honour which I have reſigned. I would conjure him to examine narrowly, not only into the principles—but into the very prejudices of thoſe with whom he is to act; for he is, perhaps, the moſt reſponſible perſon to the people in the whole executive government. It is only by a thorough acquaintance with character, that he can have any pretenſion to foreſee the conſequences of either apparently good or evil actions.

The Hon. Gentleman has obſerved, that in the council there muſt neceſſarily be a diſunion and difference of ſentiment. He ſays, there are eleven members in the cabinet. It is true, there are eleven members in the cabinet. But he muſt acknowledge, that when there is that influence exiſting among theſe eleven members, which makes it a certainty to tell how a queſtion ſhall be determined—if it has but a name, that difference cannot prevail either to retain or forfeit its members. So true it is this influence exiſts there—that I could tell in what ſhape a queſtion would be diſpoſed of, before a ſyllable was heard of its diſcuſſion. It therefore exiſts even to the degree in which it was ſeen in this

Houſe,

Houſe, under a late adminiſtration. But I would obſerve ſomething more with reſpect to His Majeſty's councils. It has been ſaid that I was deſirous and jealous of power. True! I was deſirous and jealous of power. But what was this power? Was it a power unbecoming my ſtation and reſponſibility to the people? Was it not even an indiſpenſible power which every perſon ought to poſſeſs in my late ſituation? I did find that I had not that extent of authority which was neceſſary even to give a proper dignity and conſequence to the office I filled. I had no more than any other member of the council. Is this ſufficient for the perſon who is amenable for any miſconduct in adminiſtration? Should he not have more weight in the deciſion of executive government, than what any other member has who is no more than merely a counſellor—and not the ſervant of his Majeſty and his country.

As an accuſation to my conduct, the Hon. Gentleman has ſaid, it is the prerogative of the King to appoint his miniſters. The King has this prerogative. Let his Majeſty exert it with jealouſy and with dignity: but at the ſame time he will not compel me to forego my privileges. If it be his prerogative to appoint, it is my privilege to reſign. So that in the moment I am accuſed, I am acquitted.

quited. I have done no more than exerted my natural privilege. Who ſhall, therefore, call me to an account for this reſignation. If I am reſponſible to any perſon for my conduct in this particular, it is to the people. I feel this truth from ſeeing ſo reſpectable a number of their repreſentatives aſſembled on this day, to enquire into my reaſons for my conduct. It is thus I have, with ſuch pleaſure, entered into the reaſons with that explicitneſs which I thought was due to them.

But I have to notice ſomething which the Hon. Gentleman has mentioned in reſpect to India affairs. He gives us to underſtand that nothing is acted there, contrary to the ſentiments of this Houſe. Will the Hon. Gentleman go ſo far as to ſay this conduct was the conduct of adminiſtration when I had the honour of acting with them? He neither will nor cannot. He knows too well that it was in conſequence of their renewing thoſe meaſures which this Houſe had ſo juſtly reprobated, that I gave as one eſſential reaſon for my poſitive reſignation. He knows that I declared to the whole council, that if this was their intention, I neither could, nor would, act in conjunction with perſons ſo contrary to my principles. The Hon. Gentleman, I am ſure, will do me the juſtice to

acknowledge, what I have now ſo ſeriouſly and ſolemnly declared. How then can he reconcile theſe material differences of principle, to what he calls merely a ſhade of opinion?

But had I not conſidered my country's intereſt—I had too recent a circumſtance before me, which muſt have determined my conduct in reſpect to my own individual intereſt and ſafety. When the Hon. Gentleman brought forward his motion for turning out the late adminiſtration, I learnt this leſſon from the conſequence—that if a miniſter is to be turned out by the people, he muſt neceſſarily be accountable to that people for his actions. So that had I not been inclined to have foregone the advantages of my place, I ſhould have been compelled to have reſigned from a knowledge of my own perſonal danger. When I ſaw meaſures adopting on which the fate of this country very materially depended—ſuch as whether there would be peace or war?—Whether this country ſhould have a future exiſtence as a ſtate?—Whether it was not to be abandoned in this political exigency?——it was natural for me to be alarmed when I ſaw the worſt of theſe conſequences were in proſpect. When I ſaw this danger awaiting my country, I thought it imminently

imminently concerned me that inſtant to withdraw myſelf from thoſe councils. I found that my endeavours to ſave my country there were in vain. It is thus I reſigned and reſumed the ſtation in which I thought I could be ſerviceable. Here I ſhall remain, as I have always been, the ſervant of the people. Here I ſhall not oppoſe the meaſures of government, becauſe I am not concerned in them. Inſtead of oppoſing, I ſhall always aſſiſt them in whatever meaſure they adopt for the general good. But ſhould I ſee any thing come forward I think contrary to that ſyſtem which is the baſis of the public welfare, I ſhall moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſe it. No prejudice, either to party or principle, ſhall make me forego my boaſted privilege as a member of parliament—that of being the ſervant and guardian of the public.

I AM, therefore, not to be intimidated from my duty by any threat of the King's negative. Let the King's negative be reſtored. If this parliament is reſtored to its primitive and pure principles of legiſlation, the King's negative cannot affect its deciſions. There was a time when I ſhould have thought the King's negative would not have been altogether ſo convenient in this Houſe. But that time, I truſt, is paſſed. It

is a pleaſing reflection to think, the ſhort time we have been in office, ſuch ſteps have been adopted as will tend moſt effectually to deſtroy that influence whtch has ſo long fettered the privileges of the people. This is, indeed, great ſatisfaction to ſupport us in our preſent ſituation.

It muſt have been upon urgent and indiſpenſible reaſons, indeed, that would have made me reſign a power in which I flattered myſelf competent to ſerve my country: but I can have no reaſon to apoligize to this Houſe for my conduct. Am I not countenanced by all that is great, good, or amiable? Has not my noble friend (Lord J. Cavendiſh) reſigned? Surely, when ſuch a man is obliged to quit an adminiſtration, no man of either character or principle could be perſuaded to remain behind.

The Honourable Gentleman has ſaid the preſent adminiſtration was popular: this I deny. The adminiſtration of which I had the honour lately to form a part, was, indeed, popular: the Hon. Gentleman cannot ſay, with propriety, the ſame of the preſent: the adminiſtrations are totally diſtinct in their connections, prejudices, opinions, and principles. The popular adminiſtration did not go in with the preſent firſt Lord

Lord of the Treaſury; he invited them in his Majeſty's name to go with him; but it was always underſtood that a difference of principles exiſted between the noble Earl and the late firſt Lord of the Treaſury, in whom the popular party was united in prejudice and principle, for promoting the welfare of the common cauſe.

THE Hon. Gentleman knows that we were of ſeparate opinions from the noble Earl. We were too much attached to the integrity and ability of the late firſt Lord of the Treaſury, ever to think of acting in concert with a man whoſe profeſſions have been always known inimical to that grand object which was the ultimate of our views—a peace with America. To ſay, therefore, this is a perſonal prejudice, is ſtating what is clearly otherwiſe. Our objections to act in concert with the noble Earl is not of a perſonal—but a national nature. Were we to give way to that narrow ſyſtem of party and politics, which has, in late adminiſtrations, brought on all our miſeries—we had ſome reaſon to indulge it as an attachment to the deceaſed noble Marquis. He was a man, of all others, formed to keep a ſet of men united in one ſolid body, ſupporting the intereſt of their country. Could we, then, knowing the difference between the late and the preſent firſt

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Lord of the Treaſury, act otherwiſe? Not to enter into any invidious compariſons between the one and the other, was there a ſhadow of reaſon for our becoming apoſtates to our deceaſed friend? If I were inclined to compare their abilities, I will be bold to ſay, the difference would be a very great increaſe of honour —if his memory could receive any additional honour, to the deceaſed.

BUT, although we have loſt this great—this good—this glorious and exalted character, let it not be ſuppoſed, the ſpirit which he has long directed for the good of his country is annihilated. No! Notwithſtanding the head which ruled and preſerved that ſpirit, is gone—that ſpirit has ſtill an exiſtence—and, I truſt, will ever exiſt with the being of this country.

THERE is another reſpectable character—the Lord Chancellor; who, no more than the noble Earl, could be ſuppoſed to have formed any part of what I call the popular adminiſtration. For that popular adminiſtration had no other connection in joining with them than merely what reſulted from his joining Lord Shelburne in inviting us into office. How then the Hon. Gentleman could have hazarded ſuch an incongruous aſſertion as the preſent adminiſtration

ſtration being a popular one, is no little matter of aſtoniſhment; for the preſent adminiſtration, I will aſſert, is of the moſt unpopular principles. It is now the adminiſtration of a man—who is a mere pigmy in performance. But when we compare him with his promiſes, he will appear gigantic indeed. A man who treated the idea of information, firſt ſuggeſted by my Hon. Friend, with a degree of contemtuous oppoſition. Though now I will do him the juſtice to ſay, he has ſpoken of it with the warmeſt applauſe and approbation. But this is ſince it has ſo happily ſucceeded by the induſtry of my Hon. Friend. He is a man who will declare that the influence of the crown ought to be diminiſhed; but will, at the ſame time, threaten us with the King's negative, whenever we might attempt to move any bills of retrenchment. Such is the firſt Lord of the Treaſury. It is, therefore, clear, that the principles of the late abominable miniſtry are ſtill lurking in the cabinet. Indeed, ſuch a footing have theſe principles in that place, I ſhould not be ſurprized to ſee the late adminiſtration again in office. I wiſh it may not happen.

When a firſt Lord of the Treaſury is known to poſſeſs ſuch principles as I have before ſtated. I cannot ſuppreſs my fears for the conſequence.

ſequence. I fear—although we have, in a great meaſure, reſtored the independance of parliament—a dangerous influence may be revived in the executive government. Every perſon muſt know that the Treaſury is the ſeat of influence. It is only that which is beyond the power of an independant parliament to withſtand. Whoever fills this great appointment, muſt neceſſarily be in poſſeſſion of great power. He has, and, indeed, ought to have, more power than any one member of the cabinet. I therefore ſaw that my own voice was not—nor would be, effective in what appeared to me the intereſt of the people. If I remained, I was giving ſanction to thoſe meaſures, againſt which my endeavours would have proved abortive.

BEFORE I conclude, I would aſk the Hon. Gentleman, Whether the noble Lord was not always ſuſpected of having leſs friendly ideas of American independance than any one of his coadjutors? If this be true, then why does the Hon. Gentleman produce theſe papers as the then exiſting principles of the noble Lord? I do not wiſh my arguments ſhould bear hard upon the Hon. Gentleman; for I have too long regarded him with that eſteem and reſpect which will not ſuffer me to ſay any thing derogatory to his amiable and worthy character.

I WOULD

I WOULD not have ſaid ſo much in reſpect to his conduct, had I not been involuntarily urged to it by my own perſonal defence. In reſpect to this defence, I labour under peculiar inconveniences. My preſent conduct demands explicitneſs, of which the delicacy of my former ſituation will not admit. Official arguments would be very juſtly conſidered tedious and inexpedient. But without entering into a detail of official circumſtances, there is no poſſibility of defending, with juſtice to myſelf and ſatisfaction to my hearers—the cauſe of my leaving adminiſtration. My defence muſt be, therefore, very inadequate to give that general ſatisfaction, which my preſent feelings convince me this reſignation deſerves.

I LABOURED ardently and aſſiduouſly with my colleagues, to bring them to that deciſion and ſpecific meaſure which I thought, and am ſtill convinced, can only preſerve the ſtate. I did not act partially in this meaſure—but with the whole of adminiſtration as one collective body. But ſtill my efforts were vain. In this ſituation did any perſon conceive I could remain acting with thoſe, whom my experience and knowledge informed me were hoſtile to the greateſt and beſt intereſts of the country? I

truſt the public, who are in poſſeſſion of my habits of thinking, will do me more juſtice than to ſuppoſe I would. But whatever may be the opinions of Gentlemen on this particular, I moſt ſolemnly declare, I could never continue in office while ſuch were the principles of an adminiſtration.

THE Hon. Gentleman is free to act for himſelf in ſuch a ſituation—but his conduct ſhall never influence mine. Nor ſhall his confidence in any man influence my ſentiments, when they are, from a thorough conviction, totally different from mine. The Hon. Gentleman is at liberty to judge for himſelf—but he ſhall never judge for me. I will never relinquiſh my opinion, which I have ſo frequently and carefully revolved in my mind.

THE Hon. Gentleman—as I have before obſerved, may view things in a more enlarged and comprehenſive ſcale than my poor abilities will permit. I may view things in a very limited manner compared with him. Had I not before received frequent teſtimonies of this difference in our mental optics, I ſhould have been completely convinced from what has fallen this day from the Hon. Gentleman. Did he not ſee more comprehenſively than myſelf, I am aſſured

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we ſhould not, at this moment, have had occaſion to evince ſuch a difference of opinion, principle, ſentiment, and conduct. He would join with me in ſeeing that the firſt Lord of the Treaſury has not that right to his confidence which he has ſo explicitly avowed.

But I will not vindicate the perfection of my own mind by cenſuring the debility of another's. It is ſufficient for me to know that I have acted agreeable to the dictates of my feelings, and conſiſtent with thoſe principles I have always, and ever ſhall profeſs. It is, therefore, my greateſt conſolation to be at peace with myſelf: to this ſatisfaction I ſhould have had no pretenſions in another place. Thus I was compelled into this reſignation by every conſideration that can operate on the breaſt and mind of an honeſt man.

The Hon. Gentleman may, as I am convinced he does, regard without concern who is at the head of his Majeſty's councils—I do not, I repeat again, poſſeſs this liberality of temper. While I feel it the greateſt of all objects to this nation who leads the cabinet, I ſhall always be ſolicitous to ſee it filled with purity, integrity, and ability.

BUT, although I deem this of the greateſt national concern—yet I conſider it more immediately the concern of a member of parliament —but ſtill far greater I think that concern ſhould be of one of the cabinet miniſters. It is the repoſitory of their honour, and all that can be dear to a miniſter. And, therefore, when I found the labours of myſelf and friends for theſe many years liable to be deſtroyed, was I to be ſacrificed to the power and emolument of office? Should I join in thus meanly—but in the end abortively, reviving that old execrated ſyſtem of policy, which has been our deſtruction. Would not the public have been in poſſeſſion of this ſubterfuge—this duplicity of conduct and declaration, which could only be meant to ruin them with their own approbation? We ſhould have been worthy of of this cenſure, had we not detected the artifice which might ultimately have deſtroyed the glory and proſperity of the empire.

ALTHOUGH I conſidered myſelf reſponſible for the meaſures purſuing in His Majeſty's councils, yet I could not even enter upon a perſonal vindication of my own principles, being in direct oppoſition to thoſe which were adopted while I remained in office. Had I been met by any one

one of my conſtituents, and they had thought proper to aſk me if the meaſures of the cabinet were friendly to that ſyſtem which we all went into office to promote—I muſt certainly have declared—contrary to my knowledge, they were. How could I anſwer otherwiſe? Is it to be ſuppoſed that I would remain in office while any other meaſures were purſuing than thoſe which I have ſo uniformly profeſſed and practiced? I conſidered, therefore, my continuance in office would be thought as a countenance of that deſtructive ſyſtem which it is known I have always given my negative to in His Majeſty's councils—as I have always done in parliament, as the repreſentative of the people. Thus, my reſignation was indiſpenſible. I ſaw not the leaſt poſſibility of continuing in office conſiſtent with my own honour, and the intereſt of the country. Could I have ſeen a poſſibility of preventing what ſeemed to me to threaten our very exiſtence as a ſtate, I ſhould, no doubt, have continued the ſervant of His Majeſty and the people.

But when I found myſelf no longer able to ſerve my country, I was reſolved no longer to be the ſervant of the crown. I went into office the miniſter of the public's, and I truſt in that character I ſhall have the juſtice done me of

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having it acknowledged, that I have faithfully, anxiouſly, and unremittingly diſcharged my duty. But when this change of ſyſtem was adopted, I then found it my duty, as the ſervant of the public, to reſign. I could no longer ſerve them in that ſituation. It is, therefore, I have returned from whence I was taken; here it is I can ſtill exert my endeavours in their cauſe, and here they ſhall be exerted while I retain the power and confidence of being their ſervant.

I THEREFORE beg, that Gentlemen will not reprobate a conduct which their principles obliges us to adopt. In truth, I think this ſolicitude for an eclairciſſement a certain proof of their doubting the juſtneſs and efficacy of their ill-adopted intentions. But we have nothing to fear from ſuch an inveſtigation: We have not departed from their principles; they have departed from ours. We have acted with propriety and conſiſtency. We have preſerved our engagements with the public—and, I truſt, while we are honoured with their confidence, their intereſts we ſhall never betray.

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